

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 00289 202124Z

66/63

ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-09 BIB-01 SAJ-01

HEW-02 EB-07 OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00 ACDA-05 /111 W

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R 201720Z JAN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0083

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 0289

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: EC-NINE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS

1. USDEL HAS BEEN GIVEN IN CONFIDENCE A COPY OF LENGTHY  
EC-9 CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS  
(FULL TEXT BY POUCH TO EUR/RPM), WHICH SHOULD BE APPROVED  
IN DUBLIN ON JAN 23. POINTS OF INTEREST IN REPORT ARE  
SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. PRINCIPLES --

(A) PEACEFUL CHANGE: THE NINE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 00289 202124Z

US FORMULA OF JULY 26, WHILE DOUBTING THAT IT WILL BE

ACCEPTED.

(B) EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES: REPORT STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF THIS CONCEPT AND STATES THAT A PHRASE SUCH AS "EACH PRINCIPLE SHOULD BE INTERPRETED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OTHERS" SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS.

(C) QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS SAVING CLAUSE: PAPER EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR PLACING THIS LANGUAGE IN FINAL CLAUSES OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION.

(D) MENTION OF UN CHARTER: PAPER ENVISAGES RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM BY INSERTION IN PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION FOLLOWING LANGUAGE: "NOTING THAT THE PRINCIPLES ENUMERATED BELOW CONFORM TO/SHOULD BE INTERPRETED IN CONFORMITY WITH/THE CHARTER OF THE UN, OF WHICH THE AIRMS AND PRINCIPLES SHOULD GUIDE THE CONDUCT OF ALL STATES  
."

(E) SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE: SHOULD BE REGISTERED ASAP AS IT STOOD PRIOR TO RECESS.

(F) PREAMBLE: PAPER ALLUDES TO A NEW FRENCH DRAFT PREAMBLE, WHICH IS UNDER STUDY. (NOTE: USDEL DOES NOT HAVE TEXT OF FRANCH DRAFT).

(G) RELATIONSHIP OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION TO CSCE TEXTS AS A WHOLE: NINE MAINTAIN THEIR OPPOSITION TO A SINGLE BASKET I DOCUMENT, AND STRESS NEED TO SEPARATE PRINCIPLES AND CBM'S.

3. ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF) PROPOSAL - RELATION TO OTHER CSCE DOCUMENTS -- REPORT ENVISAGES THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVES, AND EXPRESSES A PREFERENCE FOR ALTERNATIVE (A):

(A) SEPARATE PAPER;

(B) SEPARATE SECTION OF PRINCIPLES DOCUMENT;

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 00289 202124Z

(C) SEPARATE TEXT TREATING SWISS PAPER ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND ROMANIAN NUF PAPER;

(D) NUF PAPER AS AN ANNEX TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION;

(E) DISPERSAL OF AGREED ELEMENTS OF NUF PAPER IN VARIOUS CONFERENCE DOCUEMNTS.

4. CBM'S -- PAPER NOTES RISKS INVOLVED IN LEAVING PARAMETERS FOR A CBM ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS TO BE SETTLED DURING FINAL BARGAINING AT END OF STATE II, STRESSES NEED FOR SATISFACTORY RESULTS IN THIS AREA WITHOUT SUBJECT BEING REFERRED TO FOLLOW-UP, AND SUGGESTS THAT POLITICAL DIRECTORS CONSIDER THIS PROBLEM FURTHER.

5. BASKET II -- PAPER NOTES THAT NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS AREA HAVE ENTERED THE FINAL PHASE, AND ONLY THREE KEY PROBLEMS REMAIN: RECIPROCITY, MFN, AND REFERENCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

6. BASKET III -- NINE CONTINUE TO SEEK GENERAL FORMULATIONS OF FREER MOVEMENT OBJECTIVES (IN PREAMBLES TO EACH SECTION OF BASKET III), CERTAIN CONCRETE MEASURES, AND AVOIDANCE OF RESTRICTIVE CLAUSES. REPORT JUDGES THAT THREE-FIFTHS OF BASKET III WORK IS ALREADY COMPLETE; RESULTS ATTAINED THUS FAR ARE "NOT NEGLIGIBLE," BUT CERTAIN ESSENTIAL POINTS REMAIN TO BE NEGOTIATED. AGREED TACTICS SHOULD BE CONTINUED.

(A) HUMAN CONTACTS: ONLY ESSENTIAL POINTS WHICH REMAIN TO BE NEGOTIATED ARE PREAMBLE AND FACILITATION OF TRAVEL.

(B) INFORMATION; THREE KEY POINTS REMAIN - PREAMBLE, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION, AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. ON AUDIO-VISUAL INFO, NINE CONCLUDE THAT LANGUAGE ON JAMMING CANNOT BE OBTAINED WITHOUT ACCEPTING LANGUAGE ON GOVZGMMZMTALHVOMTGOLHOXOOLBGOWBV WYTPMG WHPVHHWOULD POSE "GRAVE PROBLEMS." PAPER SUGGESTS THAT THIS FIGHT IS AN AFFAIR OF HONOR, AND IF NO RESULT IS POSSIBLE, THE WESTERN PRESS SHOULD BE INFORMED.

(C) CULTURE: REMAINING PROBLEMS INCLUDE READING ROOMS, CONTACTS  
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 00289 202124Z

BETWEEN AUTHORS AND AGENTS, AND TRANSFER OF COPYRIGHTS.

(D) EDUCATION: WORK PRACTICALLY COMPLETE.

7. FOLLOW-UP -- FOR THE MOMENT THE NINE WILL HOLD FIRMLY TO DANISH PROPOSAL IN CSCE DISCUSSION, WHILE GIVING INTERNAL CONSIDERATION TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) HOW TO CARRY OUT CSCE DECISIONS;

(B) HOW, AND AFTER WHAT PERIOD OF TIME, TO MAKE A GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE MANNER IN WHICH CSCE DECISION HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT;

(C) IF, AND HOW, THE MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE SHOULD BE CONTINUED,

AND ON WHAT SUBJECTS;

(D) THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A DIALOGUE FOR  
EUROPEAN UNITY.

8. MALTESE PAPER ON MEDITERRANEAN MONITORING COMMITTEE --  
COULD FORM BASIS OF MALTESE REFUSAL TO JOIN CSCE  
CONSENSUS, OR COULD BE USED TO OBTAIN A ROLE FOR NON-  
PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES IN STAGE III OR  
FOLLOW-UP. NINE EXPRESS THEIR WILLINGNESS TO KEEP  
MALTESE INFORMED OF EVOLUTION OF EC-ARAB DIALOGUE AS  
A MEANS OF ENCOURAGING A MORE REASONABLE MALTESE ATTITUDE.

9. TIMING -- POLITICAL COMMITTEE WILL KEEP THIS QUESTION  
UNDER REVIEW, IN LIGHT OF PROGRESS ACCOMPLISHED IN GENEVA.

10. FINAL DOCUMENT -- NINE CONTINUE TO PREFER ONE  
SIGNATURE, EITHER AT END OF ALL CSCE TEXTS, OR AFTER  
A "FINAL ACT" WITH CSCE TEXTS ANNEXED. NINE ARE ALSO  
STUDYING A NEW APPROACH TO THIS QUESTION PUT FORWARD BY  
FRG. (NOTE: USDEL IS NOT INFORMED OF THIS FRG PROPOSAL).  
ABRAMS

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
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